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WASHINGTON, OCTOBER 4, 1880.

FOR PRESIDENT,

JAMES A. GARFIELD,

OF Ohio.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT,

CHESTER A. ARTHUR,

of New York.

THE BARREL IN POLITICS.

One of the strangest and at the same

time one of the most alarming features of

politics developed within the last few years

is the introduction of the barrel into the

campaign as a leading agency in the nomi-

nation of a ticket and its success at the

polls, especially by the democratic party.

The democratic party has always claimed

to be the special friend of the common

people, existing for their benefit principally,

and aiming to stand as a barrier against

the encroachment of the money power upon

the rights and prerogatives of the laboring

and defenseless poor. It has claimed to be

the enemy of concentrated and corporate

capital and extra privilege by which great

aggregations of wealth were made possible

in few hands. It has claimed to be opposed

to the action of money upon legislative

enactments and upon judges of courts, executive

offices, and all who have any voice in

the administration of justice and the settle-

ment of disputes between the laborer and

employer and the poor and the rich.

True, this profession has not always been

sincere, and has rarely flowered into

practice, but it has, nevertheless, stood as a

menace or caution to capital to restrain in

some degree the propensity to ride in a too

rough shod manner over the ranks of the

men of small means and the men of no

means at all, and in this way has not been

wholly useless.

In 1876 SAMUEL J. TILDEN was nomi-

nated for the presidency and introduced the

barrel as an essential element in politics.

Of course money was not unknown in cam-

paigns before, but it had, come from diverse

sources and many small streams, and in

such secret ways that few knew from whence

it was obtained, and it was not largely ap-

plied to illegitimate uses.

TILDEN, however, placed himself before

the men of his party as a reformer backed

up with a barrel, and the proportion of re-

form to barrel was like the drop to the

shower, or the ant hill to Mount Washing-

ton. Reliance for victory was placed not

upon principles or character of the candi-

date, but upon the size of his contribution

and the recklessness of its use. The bar-

rel was the centre of gravity about which

the political globe revolved, and the money

of the candidate worked the machinery,

and would have secured success but for a

small higgling about a paltry fifty thousand

at the critical moment.

The approximate success showed the fu-

ture possibilities of money, and the barrel

established itself as a permanent institution

in the party. The convention of 1880 nomi-

nated HANCOCK, and then cast about for a

barrel and non-named ENGLISH. ENGLISH

was never a man of any account in the

country for talent or character. He was re-

tired to the lower depths of obscurity, where

there is no gall left for republicans. A funder organ recently said that the conservative democrats have found that "worse things can happen to them and a worse party obtain control of their affairs than republican rule and the republican party."

## GENERAL HANCOCK AS A LEADER.

We have not been surprised that repub-

lican speakers have omitted everything

like abuse of General HANCOCK in their

addresses, though his record is very vul-

nerable, for the reason that the republican

side of the campaign should contrast with

their opponents in regard to personal criti-

cism. But we have been surprised at this

display of magnanimity which indulges in

eulogy of him as a military officer. This

too magnanimous by far, for it is not fully

justified by the facts. General HANCOCK

was scarcely known outside his regim-

ent before the rebellion broke

out, but when that struggle came he

had an ample field for the exercise of

such abilities as his mental and moral

organization, allied to high military train-

ing at the public expense, afforded him.

He entered that field with superior opor-

tunities for developing all his excellences

of character as a man and officer. The

path was open, and a fair chance was given

him as the architect of his own military

fortunes; and what were his achieve-

ments? To say that his record reveals

more than an average reputation for

worth would be to utter that which history

does not justify. The only point at which

he distinguished himself even in a fair

degree was at Gettysburg, and it is alleged

that in that important battle he claims for

himself, or his friends claim for him,

laurels that rightfully belong to others.

General HANCOCK did not exhibit remark-

able abilities either as a strategist, organizer

or heroic leader of men in the hour of

battle, but he did develop, on the march

and in camp, qualities of character in the

treatment of his troops, which neither

dignity nor ennoble him as a gentleman,

nor as a humane man. Such is the reputa-

tion that his army gives him, and hence

he is not drawing as largely upon the

soldier class who know him as his

friends have anticipated. His military

record is of no advantage to him.

## REAPING AS THEY SOWED.

One excuse offered, and too often ac-

cepted, for the revolutionary overthrow of

republican state governments in the south

and the subsequent continued suppression

of the majority was, that "property and

intelligence" should rule. The evils of ex-

travagant and dishonest government were

enlarged upon, and the outrage upon the

franchise was justified because it aimed to

prevent an outrage upon the pockets of the

tax-payers. The history of the south since

the advent of its boasted "home rule" ex-

plains the truth of the proverb that "two

"wounds do not make a right." The men

of "property and intelligence," in order to

do the work of force and fraud deemed by

them necessary to save the state, were

obliged to call in the aid of the ignorant,

rude and lawless "poor whites." The

expectation was that these would, after the

republicans were suppressed, retire to the

obscurity from which they were brought

and leave the fruits of victory and the di-

rection of affairs, as of old, to the afore-

said "property and intelligence." This expec-

tation has been largely disappointed. The

"poor whites," having obtained control, have

generally kept it. The red-shirt clubs after

insuring victory have named men in

congress, who are, with a few exceptions,

vastly inferior morally and intellectually

to southern representatives of the older

times and to those from other sections

of the country. It is more noticeable, how-

ever, in the local affairs of the various states

south.

In Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Ala-

bama, Georgia, Kentucky and South Car-

olina the local newspapers are full of com-

plaint of stupid legislation, incompetent ex-

ecutives and the dishonest handling of pub-

honorable men. A class of men have come to the surface who seek by intimidation and violence, as well as through treachery and fraud, to suppress and control the law-abiding citizens of New Orleans. Encouraged by past success they have grown reckless, and their courage has risen in proportion to the acquiescence of the people enforced by the peculiar political situation.

The Times further describes those who

rule the metropolis of Louisiana:

The hoodlums were not men of exalted

ambition or great expectations. They were

content with an occasional drunk and the

promise of a small election. But they were

"the boys," and up to anything from repeat-

ing to cutting a throat. They turned off the

gas, broke up the meetings, did the rough-

and-tumble fighting, voted early and often,

shouted down the opposition orators and at-

tended to the general utility business.

The Times continues:

Time was when a hearty and united effort

might have defeated the ring in the ward

clubs and at the primaries. It is too late to

attempt that now. The regular organiza-

tion is too well "fixed." We can get a square

vote and a fair count, perhaps, at the regular

election; but we need not look for a fighting

chance at the primaries or in the nominating

convention.

This is the whole story. The hoodlums

were used by the "property and intelli-

gence" to attend to the general utility

business, from breaking up republican

meetings, shouting down opposition or-

ators, to murdering the members of a con-

stitutional convention. When the work

was completed it was found that the hood-

lums had worked for hoodlums; not for the

men of "property and intelligence." Nor

will there be relief until the organization

of opposition parties to the proscription

rule of the bourgeois democratic party is not

only tolerated, but encouraged.

The republican committee will soon en-

ter upon an active canvass of Virginia.

To-morrow the Georgia democrats will

settle their cat-and-dog contest at the bal-

lot box, with the republicans as spectators.

The Cincinnati Enquirer thinks Grant's

speech at Warren will make more republi-

can votes than any speech of the canvass.

The New York Herald of Saturday has a

long article upon "Weathercock Journal-

ism." The editor knows all about his

subject.

A Mississippi paper, the Brookhaven

Ledge, speaking of a new license law, says:

"It permits the sale of whisky by the pint

—about two good drinks."

For the week ending October 2 there

were paid out by the United States treasury

793,995 standard silver dollars; an in-

crease of \$455,107 over the corresponding

week of last year.

TILDEN was distinguished as the great

railroad wrecker. ENGLISH is dis-

tinguished as the great homestead wrecker—

and we move forward and not backward,

according to HANCOCK.

The New York Herald continues to ad-

vise that the safest day to bet on Indiana

is the day after election. If the returns

come in like those from Maine there will

be a good chance to lose even then.

HARRISON THURMOND was stabbed in a

street row at Gainesville, Tex. A special

dispatch to the New Orleans Times says:

"Mr. THURMOND is a well-known gambler,

who, when of his profession, has no peer

as a gentleman in the state."

The grand reunion of the Boys in Blue at

Indianapolis, at the call of their old com-

mander, on the 7th instant, will be an oc-

casion which ought not to be missed by any

who can possibly attend. Washington

ought to be represented, at least by every

Ohio and Indiana man in the departments.

THERE is now reported to be 7,000

majority against the repudiating amend-

ment in Arkansas. The democratic majority

for state officers was about 60,000. The re-

publican vote was cast solidly against the

amendment, and amounted to about 40,000.

It follows, therefore, that out of 100,000

democrats, 66,500 voted in favor of repudi-

cation. Carry the news to HANCOCK, and his

democratic backers.

alarm has been sounded from the demo-

cratic camp already, and within the next

thirty days a panic will seize the whole

country. The dog is nearly dead now.

Not all the counties of South Carolina

have been enthused over a sham election.

The Charleston News and Courier mourns

because Yorkville greeted the democratic

speakers with a slim attendance. "The

stores were not closed, there was but one

red-shirt club present, there were no

"ladies present, and the schools were

"not even dismissed to mark the day as a

"holiday." The county chairman made sev-

eral excuses, but did not touch the real one,

which was that the people have more sense

than the leaders. Why should there be

time and money lost in attending meetings

when the whole thing is decided in the

count? The News and Courier says: "Ne-

theless, York county will vote her whole

"democratic strength in November." Of

course she will, and one or two thousand

more if it is needed.

## POLITICAL NOTES.

GENERAL SIMON CAMERON thinks the re-

publicans are unwise to claim Indiana.

Four thousand Germans greeted Secretary

Schnitz at Cleveland on Friday night. He

spoke in the German language for two hours,

exciting intense enthusiasm.

The Ohio democrats propose to neutralize

the effect of Grant's presence and speech at

Warren by bringing Tilden into their can-

vass this week. Think of pitting that old

diplo fraud against Grant!

What does Hancock's election involve? A

thousand risks. What does Garfield's election

involve? Continued prosperity and not a single

risk. Nobody